

EDITED BY
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TO OUR EXCHANGES.

We solicit the attention of all our exchanges to the subjoined remarks on Public Buildings, and ask for an expression of opinion as to the reservation of the Presidential grounds from further encroachment.

We had hoped that the opinion of the Administration was adverse to the erection of further buildings on it. We know it was so in part, and we still believe that it is with great reluctance the President has ordered the commencement of an addition to the Treasury building. If supported by public opinion, as we have no doubt he would be, the President, we believe, would gladly leave the matter for special consideration by the next Congress. As this matter must be attended to now, or the evil be consummated, we hope every paper will give an expression of opinion.

We have seen with regret partisan attacks on the President for delay, but in a single paper only. The motive urged to give employment to men, though not without weight, should not counterbalance the greater evil of ruining these beautiful grounds. We feel assured that in delaying the matter, and calling to it the special consideration of Congress, the Executive will be doing an act for which he will receive very general thanks now and the perpetual gratitude of posterity.

Public Buildings—Public Grounds.
There are three cardinal points necessary to be considered in the erection of public buildings, viz: 1st, a fire-proof character; 2d, convenient arrangement, with abundant room; and, 3d, mutual proximity of the departments.

The buildings now occupied by the State, War, Navy, and Interior departments, possess none of these indispensable requisites, but, on the contrary, by their absence, are constantly exposed to the most serious dangers and inconveniences.

The first great serious defect of the existing buildings, is their combustible character, keeping in perpetual jeopardy documents of the highest value and vast importance, the loss of which would be deplorable and irreparable. The loss of the public archives in these departments, would leave such great gaps in our history, would deprive the government of such indispensable information, in relation to our domestic, and particularly our foreign concerns, as would expose us to the most serious losses, annoyances, and inconveniences. A Secretary of State stripped of the archives of his department, would, in his intercourse with foreign nations, be placed in a situation alike so disadvantageous, perplexing, and mortifying, that posterity would, with great justice, brand us with a reckless disregard of the monuments of our history, our rights, and our glory: while we were wasting millions upon matters which could readily be deferred, and while we are actually paying in premiums for the privilege of redeeming a small portion of the national debt, in anticipation of its maturity, a larger sum than would be necessary to provide appropriate accommodations for the archives and offices of government. With the means in hand and no reasonable excuse for delay, if nothing more than security were obtained by appropriate buildings, it should suffice peremptorily and promptly to secure their erection.

The records of folly, in confiding valuable documents to combustible buildings, are sufficiently long and sad, of the destruction of documents, for the recovery of which, mankind would cheerfully pay a thousand times the additional cost which would have been requisite to render their depositories safe.

But there are other and pressing reasons to urge the immediate construction of these buildings. The business of the departments has so greatly augmented; the documents, models, instruments, cases, &c., have so multiplied, that all is confusion and constraint. There being no room for appropriate arrangement of the numerous documents, &c., there can be no stringent responsibility; and it may be safely asserted as a fact, that if a record were made of the losses of books and documents, they could not be replaced by an amount that would erect a suitable building.

There is also the essential element of mutual proximity; for although there are six departments, including the Attorney General's office, yet their duties are so interwoven, and their intercourse so constant, that it would be as convenient to dismember a department itself as to separate the departments one from the other. The incessant intercourse going on requires imperatively, for the proper facility of business, the closest contiguity; and this can be best attained, consistently with the strictest and truest economy, and securing at the same time the finest architecture as one large building can be erected at a proportionable less cost than could several smaller ones of equal aggregate accommodation. As an architectural ornament, one large building is worth a dozen small ones, and will admit of superior arrangements. The annoyances of delay, which every member of Congress, and indeed every one having much business with the departments, must have experienced, from inability of instant intercourse, must have impressed them with the importance of contiguity. If, for instance, the Pension office were at a point distant as is the Patent office, the delay and confusion would be very great. A senator would go to the Pension office on business; in very many cases, in most cases, immediate resort is necessary to the Surgeon General's or to the Second Auditor's office; a messenger is dispatched a distance, going and returning, of some fifteen squares, during which time the senator must wait; the messenger, unless he waits for written instructions, takes a verbal communication, liable half the time to be misinterpreted or misapprehended. Meantime, the messenger has hardly left, when another senator or representative comes in; he must wait until the messenger returns and goes again, unless another messenger be dispatched, in which case, as remarked by a distinguished senator, this segregating the departments would give occasion for a corps of messengers larger than both Houses of Congress, and then very imperfectly supplying the advantages of mutual proximity, as it is well known that a personal conference of five minutes would settle a matter which through messengers would take a month, and just as likely to complicate as to adjust.

There are some of the reasons for mutual proximity. If there be a solitary reason on the other side, showing a greater facility for the transaction of public business, for economy, or to obtain architectural beauty, it has not hitherto been devised, or at any rate divulged.

The sites of the proposed buildings should be so selected as to leave to posterity no cause for regret. In regard to these matters there has been an universal error, alike by the National Government, by States, and by cities, all of which have had occasion bitterly to regret, having ceded or having encumbered ground which

should have been kept sacred for the public benefit. Already we have, in this city, to deplore the unhappy policy which restricted to pitiful limits, the Capitol grounds of a country destined in a few years to number one hundred and fifty millions of people; and there was one act of General Jackson which has recommended itself to universal commendation, to wit: that of enlarging the Capitol grounds.

Perhaps no public verdict would be more unanimous than that the contemplated buildings should not be erected on the "President's square." The space there is already so small that to prevent intrusion upon buildings connected with the Presidential mansion, the Treasury building was thrown forward some thirty feet from the site intended, and thus, excluding the front steps originally intended, and so marring the general aspect of the front, as to render the entire architecture of the building one of a very questionable character. Similar results would flow from the erection of appropriate buildings on the sites of those now occupied by the War and Navy Departments. The evils would be aggravated by the addition of two wings to the Treasury building, and surrounding the President's mansion with a cordon of unsavory odors. Besides which, it is perfectly manifest that very extensive additions must be made to the White House, or an entirely new and greatly enlarged structure must be erected to meet the augmenting population of the city, and of the number of citizens from every quarter of the Union visiting Washington. Even now the rooms are crowded to suffocation—the very windows being converted into doors of exit—and the number would be greatly larger were the reception rooms sufficiently capacious for comfort.

The custom of having music in the President's grounds may be considered as established, and abundant room should be given, and the grounds rendered accessible from the avenue, as would be the case when the buildings now disfiguring those beautiful grounds shall have been removed. It is to be hoped that this musical recreation, so universally acceptable, and so readily commanded by government, will be continued, and with every possible improvement. Government spends millions in architectural ornaments, all of which united cannot compare with the beauty of these grounds, when cleared from the disfigurement of the present buildings. Besides being ornamental in an eminent degree, these grounds would be no less healthful. If a building be erected without ornament, it would equally well fulfill all purposes of utility as would an ornate one, and it could, at any time, be replaced by one of any desired splendor, and if that should be destroyed, another can be erected on its site. A building at the moment of its completion has reached its zenith, alike for beauty as for use, it is no longer susceptible of improvement; it admits of no varying beauties, it is ever the same, except that the hand of time is busy in unceasingly hastening it to decay; its beauty is to the sense of sight alone. While these grounds will outlast a thousand successive gorgeous edifices, and in all that time, ever varying, ever changing, ever beautiful; glorious to the eye in all the varied tints of its green drapery, with all a garden's choicest flowers bespangling it. Thus the millions who shall successively thread the mazes of these grounds, will find shelter and cool breezes; will have sight, scent, and hearing, delighted amid the grove itself, and from beneath its foliage, will view in silent satisfaction the gorgeous, silent pile that fronts it with its beauty, as will the contemplated buildings when reared vis-à-vis to these grounds; while buildings on these grounds will hide more than half their beauties and prove a perpetual nuisance, the regret and condemnation of posterity.

What is the pride of Boston? Every voice responds, the Common. Does any one regret its extent? Is there one man in that whole community would have it shorn of one foot of its dimensions? Were it practicable to make it three hundred acres instead of fifty, would it not its advantages and the gratification of all its citizens be proportionately increased? Is not the city of New York dissatisfied with the paucity and extent of her public grounds, numerous though they be; and she is now robbing the waters of domain to enlarge her splendid Battery. Has she not for years been seeking such grounds, as in Washington are, unhappily, in too small repute? Is she not now, at the expense of several millions of dollars, seeking to obtain parks for the health and pleasure of her citizens and visitors?

These parks are, of necessity, on the outskirts of the city, accessible to, comparatively, few; but experience has so demonstrated the benefits of parks in cities, that these large sums are readily expended for them in these remote places; the best reparation, however, to posterity, they can make for the oversight of our ancestors. What would not New York pay to enlarge the park to five hundred acres? Philadelphia, which has so long boasted her public squares and beautiful grounds around Fairmount, now, too late almost, finds she has been niggard and unwise in not securing, in her midst, parks of suitable dimensions; and, like New York, is seeking to secure the best she can. As for Baltimore—unhappy Baltimore—she of all her sister cities, who had the most beautiful of parks embosomed within her limits; a park beautifully undulating with hill and dale, and fringed with a running stream; Baltimore, luckless Baltimore, shall we say tasteless Baltimore, preferred the sobriquet of "the Monumental City" to "the City of Parks;" and Baltimore, unwise Baltimore, like Washington, so jealous of any rival beauty to her marble monuments, stoutly and with fatal success, resisted all efforts to give even breathing room to the towering monument which stands the image of Pater Patrie. Alas poor Baltimore! she has not an oasis in all the desert of her brick and mortar. Which of all the surviving residents to the securing a park around this monument, can recall his victory of that day, and not shed a tear of regret, that defeat had not been his fate. Yet, Baltimore, with even this great frailty, how many love thee dearly still! The Cassandra warnings of those days, foretelling this regret, have reached realization. Will we of the present day at Washington, hoard up for old age and for posterity, similar regrets and self-condemnation?

Who has ever heard of the two thousand acres of park in London, being a cause of complaint by the poorest or the most avaricious? Is it the poorest classes in that great metropolis that would make rebellion at any purpose of robbing the city of these great treasures. Is the extent of grounds in Paris a subject of complaint by any one? Is the extent of public grounds in any city in the world a subject of complaint by any human being? Is not their circumscribed extent in almost every city a subject of universal regret? Shall we, therefore, disregard this universal lesson of all times, and of all cities, and omit, while it is in our power,

to secure at least decent room for the mansion of the chief of this growing nation.

There are two squares, one on the east and another on the west side of Lafayette square, of dimensions sufficient for the contemplated buildings. These squares can, in all probability, be purchased on reasonable terms, certainly for a much less sum than has been, and is being spent for mere ornament to the Capitol alone; and no one will question that for ornament and habitual use, the grounds secured by the removal of all the buildings on the President's square, except the mansion, would be preferred universally to all the ornaments of all the public buildings. If, indeed, the question were put to the vote in this District and throughout the Union whether they would prefer the Capitol itself, to be of plain brick, wholly destitute of ornament, and retain these grounds cleared from the disgrace of its buildings, there would come up from every quarter one unanimous amen! A failure now to secure the ground, is a failure forever. The subject has been debated in Congress, and the raising the treasury building to the earth, when nearly completed, failed by a single vote, and, for personal considerations, would have passed. The two squares above mentioned are most eligibly situated, giving full scope of vision, from a great distance, of the architectural beauty of the edifices which may be erected on them. They will be light and airy, accessible from all four sides, and by their proximity afford a facility to the transaction of business hitherto unknown. None of these advantages would be had in an equal degree by buildings on the President's square, which now is a mere thoroughfare, shamefully so; a perpetual thoroughfare, and passing through the very portico of the mansion itself. Besides which, the present buildings could be occupied without annoyance, while the new buildings are being erected on the two squares mentioned; but to build on the President's square, would cause confusion, annoyance, and destruction of trees very many years' growth in the grounds of the President's square.

For these reasons and for very many others which might be urged, the belief is entertained that the President's square should not be decorated by additional buildings.

To show the importance attached to parks and public grounds in New York, as well as the folly of not laying off in the infancy of cities sufficient ground for those purposes, we extract the following from the New York Tribune in relation to the projected park in that city. The Tribune says:

"The land required for the park will cost, we are assured, not more than \$7,000,000 at farthest, from which \$2,000,000, it is estimated, will be deducted by assessment on adjacent lands extensively benefited by this noble enterprise, leaving the net cost of land \$5,000,000. To this we will add \$1,000,000 as an outside estimate for the cost of grading, planting, and fencing, and we have a net cost of \$6,000,000 when the park is completed, funded in a stock bearing five per cent. interest, so that each lot will cost \$300,000 a year. We cannot do this amount every year by shutting up our groves, and thus reducing the heavy burdens imposed on us by crime and pauperism. And the value of such a park to our city can not be overestimated. Our citizens, especially those unable to spend the summer in the country, will derive health, comfort, exercise, relaxation, enjoyment, from it, while the attractions of our city as a residence for the refined and affluent will be sensibly heightened.

"We entreat our citizens to look to it that this park be not frittered away in obedience to the promptings of reckless speculation or molested by parsimony. The original plan of the park, as laid out by Governor Morris and his associates nearly half a century since, included a park of three hundred acres, stretching from Twenty-third to Thirty-fourth streets, and from the Third to the Eighth avenue. That park would not have cost the city one million dollars, and would be worth to it, if this moment in existence, at least twenty millions. But speculation whittled off one corner, and the people, bartered away another slice, while the people slumbered, until nothing but Madison square—a place for nursery-maid and hoop-trundlers, if it shall ever be covered with trees—is left of all that noble device of far-seeing genius. It is now driven a mile farther up town; let us make a stand here, and resolve not to give another inch."

General Product of the Country.
The harvest now so far advanced that we are able to form a pretty accurate idea of the result. In the southern parts of the country the wheat harvest is about over; in the middle portions the reaping is now going on with alacrity; and in the North the harvest will be general next week. The Cincinnati *Press Current* has some remarks on this question, which seem candid and well digested, and which show the following comparison, comparing 1855 with the business returns of 1850:

	1850	1855
Ohio, bushels.....	114,000,000	10,000,000
Pennsylvania.....	115,387,000	15,000,000
Virginia.....	11,212,000	12,000,000
New York.....	13,121,000	15,000,000
Alabama.....	224,000	300,000
Illinois.....	9,414,000	12,000,000
Indiana.....	6,214,000	10,000,000
Iowa.....	1,530,000	2,700,000
Kentucky.....	2,142,000	3,000,000
Maryland.....	4,424,000	4,000,000
Michigan.....	4,925,000	6,000,000
Missouri.....	2,951,000	4,000,000
Tennessee.....	1,619,000	3,500,000
Wisconsin.....	4,356,000	7,000,000
Totals.....	92,956,000	114,500,000

This calculation is a mere approximation to the result, but it will do for general purposes.

Names.
A late paper gives us the names of the chiefs of the Umpqua and Calapooia tribes who signed the late Oregon Treaty:

Na-pe-a or Louis; Injustice or Peter; Tashah or General Jackson; Bogus; Nessick; El-na-ma or William; Cheen-len-ten or George; Na-yah or John; Absaquil or Cheemook; Jo; Tom.

Contrast with these wild appellatives, the very useful descriptive ones of the following list of Puritan fathers, in 1638:

Faint-not Hewitt; Accepted Trevor; Redeemed Compton; Make Peace Henslow; God Reward Smart; Stand-fast-on-high Steinger; Earth Adams; Called Loud; Meek Brewer; Be-contrite Cole; Repentance Ayis; Search the Scriptures Moreton; Kin-sin Pimple; Return Spelman; Be-faithful Joiner; Fly-debate Roberts; Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith White; More-frail Fowler; Hope-for-Bonding; Graceful Harding; Weep-not Billing; Seek-wisdom Wood; Elected Mitchell; The-peace-of God Knight.

Sometimes even these latitudinous names are exceeded, and a whole text of Scripture formed the *prae nomen*. One of them we remember, ran somewhat in this style.

"If you do not believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, you will be damned Jones."

The Charlottesville (Va.) *Jeffersonian* says that in addition to Mr. Holladay's being elected to the Board of Public Works, he has come into possession of \$30,000 bequeathed him. It also learns that 15,000 has fallen into the hands of Hon. H. A. Wise by a similar process.

FRANCE AND THE CRIMEAN WAR.

The following interesting letter appears in Friday's number of the French journal "Le Progrès," published at New York, a paper chiefly devoted to the cause of the French republicans. The letter is marked "private correspondence of the Progrès." We think it well worthy of perusal, and have therefore translated it for our readers:

PARIS, Wednesday, June 27, 1855.

Paris is in consternation. During the whole of last week the silence of the telegraph at the Tuilleries had profoundly disturbed people's minds. At present everybody knows that at each minute of the day and of the night M. Bonaparte and his government can have news from the Crimea. Therefore, in view of this obstinate dumbness of the *Moniteur*, the business interests became alarmed, families were frightened, and the rural districts as well as the cities fell into a state of the keenest anxiety.

What was it so terrible, then, that had taken place down there? What new disaster had just been experienced? These were the questions which every one asked himself. People repaired to the ministerial offices, where they found the ministers, who put their hands (says the correspondent of the *Times*) on the place where the heart is supposed to be, and answered with tears in their eyes: "We have not any news!" At London there was the same impression, and the same attitude by the government. Mr. Palmerston declared in the House of Commons that the telegraphic wires had been cut for two days, and that the communications had only just been re-established. Nobody, I can assure you, was the dupe of this artifice. Every one knew perfectly well that the two cabinets of England and France were informed every quarter of an hour of the slightest military operations; that M. Bonaparte had the supreme direction of them; and that if silence was kept, it was because it was desirable to keep silent. This silence has naturally given birth to a thousand contradictory reports. The Allies, according to some, had been overwhelmed in a great battle, and Pelissier killed. According to others, on the contrary, the Malakoff tower had been taken; Perekoff had been taken; the Tchernaya had been occupied; and the army, without suffering too serious losses, had finished by occupying in the Cemetery. Important successes were also announced in the Baltic. They who spoke thus had too much interest in holding this language to impose on any one by it. If the Allied armies are victorious, it was replied, why does the telegraph say nothing of it to the *Moniteur*? A conclusive answer, was it not? In short the uneasiness of the day reached its height, when the *Moniteur* of the evening brought by a very encouraging and awkwardly conceived note to change public opinion—a useless manoeuvre, since there was in the wind a formidable presentiment. It might be said that the electric wire, in bearing the news of the catastrophe of Sebastopol to the Tuilleries, had diffused something of it in the air, and the cord seemed to have sounded in the passage of this news I know not what mysterious tocsin.

Finally, the bomb burst. The assault—that famous assault so long promised, so long predicted, and so long deferred—had been made; and was repelled—repelled with losses so enormous that Lord Raglan declared he must have twelve days, from the 18th to the 30th, to make an enumeration of his dead, and M. Pelissier said, in his laconic despatch, that it was impossible for him to state the exact number of his. But subsequent correspondence has been more explicit. The *Times* acknowledges four thousand dead on the side of the English, which will permit the loss of the French to be set down without exaggeration at from eight to ten thousand men. In a word, when the whole is summed up, you will see that the Allies, in this abortive attempt, have left some fifteen thousand men on the ground. This frightful toll of victims is to be added to that of the Green Mamelon—a number now known, and amounting, according to the official documents as well as to the correspondence of *La Presse*, to three thousand seven hundred men. This, therefore, will make from nineteen to twenty thousand soldiers which M. Bonaparte's late fiancée for glory have cost us—twenty thousand dead from one week to another, or from the 7th of June to the 18th of June. You remember that Inkermann, which in public estimation became the synonym of killing, massacre, and butchery. Well, guess how many deaths during that day the despatches have admitted. Seventeen hundred and twenty-six men. That was the number given by Canrobert in his report of the 7th of November, 1854. You see we have advanced since; we then counted by hundreds, we now count by thousands. The government of M. Bonaparte, I know, lied, in declaring that only 1,735 men were killed or wounded at Inkermann; and if it still lies in acknowledging only 3,700 victims at the Green Mamelon, what is then the real number? It is appalling. This is what the Crimean war is now. Inkermann is no longer but an eclogue, but a pastoral, but a leg of beef painted by a timid Boucher. The Green Mamelon leaves Inkermann far behind it, and the attack on the Malakoff tower frightfully exceeds that of the Green Mamelon.

Since the late news, new levies of troops have been sent forward from every corner of France. I can assure you that a large number of officers belonging to the different regiments in garrison at Paris have received the order to hold themselves in readiness to depart. In many places time has not been left them to make their preparations for departure. I know a captain of artillery in garrison at Vincennes who at seven o'clock in the evening received his order to depart, and at six o'clock of the next morning was on his way to Marseilles and to death. The newspapers are naturally prohibited from saying anything of all these movements, which might create uneasiness. Immense quantities of munitions are hurried forward day and night; the foundries of La Fere are fabricating bullets, the factories of Creusot are fabricating cannon, the factories of Vincennes are fabricating Congreve rockets. They have killed, they are killing, they will kill. It is the horrible on a colossal scale. Never before has France consumed so much powder in so short a time. At the beginning of the expedition, only regiments were buried; now armies are swallowed up.

An unspeakable emotion has been caused at Paris by the news of the disaster of the 18th of June. The government took the greatest pains to calm this emotion. The authoritative word was given to the press to extenuate the affair as much as possible. As usual, the exact number of our losses will not be told; neither will names be given. But, as it is feared the truth will in the end be known, precautions have been taken. Thus a despatch has been fabricated in which M. Pelissier announces that the enemy will not fail to exaggerate our losses—which is, for the public who make no mistake in the matter, one way of admitting that the losses are terrible, and that the Russian bulletin will be the only correct one. Already, in fact, a despatch coming from St. Petersburg and giving news of the 19th, says that "after twenty-four hours' bombardment, the enemy attempted on the morning of the 18th an assault on the bastions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, and on the Korniloff bastion; and it was repelled on all sides with enormous losses, the French leaving 600 prisoners."

We remark that it was only after twenty-four hours' bombardment when the assault was made, a fact which seems to establish the correctness of the observations made by the *Times* in its leader of Monday last. That journal accuses General Pelissier of the greatest imprudence, and attributes to him the responsibility for the unheard-of losses sustained during that day. It would appear, in fact, that, contrary to all the rules of art, the assault on the Malakoff fort was ordered without a breach having been made. The General wished to take this immense fortification by a coup de main, as he had already taken the Campell. What the cost has been of this attempt at escalade, ordered by madmen and executed by braves, may be dissimulated, but it is nevertheless known that one division, the Mayran division, was almost entirely annihilated. The general who commanded it was killed. Of the six French divisions, the Monet division is the one which, next to the Mayran division, suffered the most. It is even announced that this division also lost its general. They speak likewise of six colonels killed. But although M. Bonaparte's government could not succeed in hiding the names of the general officers and superiors who have disappeared, it is not thus with the mere soldiers; and Revolution alone will one day tell to France the names of those who are lost. Revolution will make an appeal for the dead; and the empire having fallen, she will appear as an avenger in the midst of the servile crowds, and begin by flinging in their faces the names of a hundred thousand dead bodies.

The English government, in its constitutional capacity, believes itself obliged to publish returns. It remains to be ascertained if these returns are correct. I doubt it, while comparing the official total with the much more probable total which is given by the newspapers, and which rises to four thousand. One thousand two hundred and ninety-five men, killed and wounded, is all which the mortuary statement of the English cabinet acknowledges. This is evidently a number fixed by Bonaparte. Mr. Palmerston counts sixteen officers killed, of whom one general and two colonels, and sixty-nine officers wounded, of whom one general and eight colonels, in all eighty-five officers hors de combat. The twelve hundred men, killed or wounded, which he acknowledges, are the ordinary proportion of soldiers for that number of officers. He cannot admit any less; but all the accounts depicted by Lord Palmerston ought, therefore, only to be accepted with all reservations. For myself, I reject it completely, after reading the English sheets. The English ministry is at this time much embarrassed by the Roebuck proposition. May the ministry not have sought to extenuate the catastrophe in order not to be overthrown by it? Mr. Palmerston is very capable of having cheated over the dead bodies. He sees in the sepulchre of the English soldiers only a cabinet question; he sees in the national mourning only his black coat, and in the winding-sheet of England only his white cravat.

I will not discuss the funeral figures published by the French government; they have not even probabilities in their favor, and this publicity, so contrary to its usual course, renders them suspicious to me.

In spite of all these falsehoods and all these sacrilegious jugglings, public opinion is opening its eyes, and the two peoples are in a profound consternation.

Eight months has the whole world been waiting for this assault. All has been sacrificed to this hope—men and millions. The fall of Sebastopol had become the only idea of France, the *Delenda Carthago* of Paris. The assault alone was thought of. Almost all the disasters of the interior were forgotten while thinking of this promised glory—the ruin of commerce, the famine, three harvests lost, the failure of the Exhibition, the sorrow at the conscription, the loss of liberty, the stifling of rights, the death of the Republic, the ignominy of slavery, all were nearly effaced in the wish and in the attempt for a military glory which should lift us up in our own eyes. Sebastopol having fallen, Paris was to decide itself with the belief of standing erect. It seemed possible for it to come out from the abyss, with the scaling-ladders of this siege. Sebastopol conquered would restore to it its name, its liberty, its pride, its rank in history. This assault was for the great nation, fallen like a new ascension into luminous renown. France turned towards the flags of the empire, and asked them to avenge its disgraces. She imagined that Napoleon was a French word, meaning glory; that Napoleonism despotism would bring necessarily the epic trumpet-clang of victories; that to it was owing Jena, Wagram, and Marengo, seeing that she accepted the eighteenth Brumaire; and that the cannon of the fourth of December had fired in sight of Austerlitz.

France has just perceived that Austerlitz doesn't pay.

Oh, what an undecieving, and what an enormous deception! People turn back on all sides towards the man of December, and they ask of him an account of our humiliation on the fields of battle, after our being crushed in the streets. It is he—nobody is ignorant of it, although the *Times* and the English press accuse only Pelissier—it is he who gives the orders; it is he who presides over the councils of war; it is he who decides the lot of plans of campaign; it is he who at every minute of the day resolves, weighs, examines. The disasters come back to him entirely; the catastrophes are solely his deed. If our armies are crumbling, with him is the fault; if our soldiers are piled up before the Russian outposts, and the Malakoff tower is devouring ten thousand after the Green Mamelon had devoured four thousand, with him, the Emperor, is the fault. It is the Emperor who has killed it; it is the Emperor who has done it. It is the Emperor who has thrown these unhappy masses of men into the conflict; it is the Emperor himself who has lost the battles, for General Pelissier is only the aid-de-camp of the telegraph. The true author of these new and frightful misadventures is called Bonaparte, and lives in the Tuilleries. He is the only vanquished; he is the incapable, he the culpable. It is he alone whom public opinion blames for our reverses, while stigmatizing his cowardice, and with amazement beholding him send our armies to a certain death, from the depth of his palace, where a grotesque and distant general, he commands in person an electric battery!

The check of the assault will have incalculable consequences; it is the summer campaign lost. The army, thrown back into its parallels, and diminished by its frightful losses—the disheartened army—is going to resort to the unfortunate tactics of marches and countermarches, which has hitherto turned so much to the advantage of the Russians. It will be requisite in a short time to send considerable reinforcements to fill up the empty ranks. During this time the Russians, unceasingly reproviced and strengthened by their victory, may render, by new works, their defence still more formidable, and the Anglo-French will find themselves in

three months again at the point where they were at the beginning of the campaign. Sebastopol will wait for them still, with its three lines of defence, with its streets barricaded like those of Saragossa, with its suburbs mined, with its fleet, and with its fortresses on the north. From this period pestilence and the typhus will continue their work; and when the summer is ended, the winter will recommence.

Meanwhile the Russians are taking measures which are not very encouraging for the Allies. The *Gazette de la Croix*, the Berlin newspaper which is best informed of what is taking place in the interior of Russia, has been written to as follows, from the Crimea:

"A portion of the corps of grenadiers which has hitherto been garrisoned in Poland, and which consists of eight regiments, forming an effective of 35,000 men, has already passed Ar-mansky Bazar, to the south of Perekoff, and is going to march directly on the line of the Tchernaya. These are the first picked troops which Russia has sent into the Crimea."

Here, then, is already the advance-guard of the army of Poland in the Crimea. Russia, stupidly tranquilized by the English cabinet, its fears of a war on the Vistula, hastens to throw all her disposable force on Sebastopol; and the *Independence Belge*, a journal of the Emperors, announces, in its Moscow correspondence, that no soldier of the allied armies will leave Crimean soil without permission of the Russian authorities!

This may certainly be not so droll, since the English press seems to believe it.

To calm the apprehensions of public opinion doubtless, M. Bonaparte has just convoked his Senate and his Legislative Body. The "nephew of the Emperor" is in need of money. It is a question of a monster loan, but which, if we must believe persons well informed, will not be effected like the last. It will not be national, as these gentlemen say; but it will be made principally with the banking-houses at 4 and 3 per cent. It will be, as you are aware, for seventeen hundred and fifty millions—an amount which, with the late loan, will carry the assessment of the expenses of war for this year only to fifteen hundred millions of francs. In regard to this new act of squandering, is related everywhere just now a singular fact which has transpired from the closed doors of the councils of the ministers. On Wednesday last, M. Bonaparte assembled his ministers towards noon, and it was decided that they would limit themselves to borrowing six millions from the bank; but the bank, having been consulted, answered that it would require, as a guaranty, that the government should deposit in its vaults the next six months' revenue. There was great emotion at the Tuilleries, and in the evening a new council, in which it was resolved to convocate the Chambers and to proceed otherwise. The *Moniteur* did not receive the decree of convocation until a late hour of the night. The manner in which this new loan is made is very significant. Does M. Bonaparte not dare again to address himself to France directly? Have his prefects advised him that France is tired of all these sad and ruinous follies, and that the two milliards five hundred millions, which had so much confidence a year ago, are withdrawn into their canvass bags, and refuse to go and serve under the tent? I willingly believe so, for my part. And then the gentlemen capitalists mistrust perhaps the morrow, which Revolution reserves for all its culpable and immoral debts with which the budget of France is now burdened. They have doubtless a presentiment that the Republic will refuse to recognise this paper, will tear these coupons to pieces, will trample under foot these checks signed by Bonaparte, and will banish ignominiously all these creditors of the national shame who are speculating on our disasters, settling revenues on themselves with our afflictions, and constituting themselves venders of the temple when the temple is hung in black.

ONE WATCHED.

WAR AND ITS PREVENTION.

The National Intelligencer, as a preventive to wars, suggests the propriety of denouncing all wars.

The evils of war cannot be exaggerated, nor can any means, which will put an end to wars, be too highly esteemed or eulogized.

But will the universal denunciation evoked by the *Intelligencer* be forthcoming, or heeded by nations seriously aggrieved?

The remedy, and the only remedy, is by a cessation of the causes of war. Let aggressive cases, and universal opinion may enforce peace.

It is by no means proper to denounce, always, the nation or individual who may go to war. Too frequently the entire guilt lies with the party attacked; in that case the guilt and consequences should be theirs.

If nations nor individuals would go to war without being treated as the wrong doers, they would have no remedy against insult, outrage, and oppression.

Let the voice of nations denounce all wrong deeds, every act of injustice or oppression; then may peace reign perpetual.

If a man or a nation be unjustifiably assaulted, it is no wrong to resent it effectually. If a man attack another and be shot down, the guilt is exclusively with the attacking party and not with the other. A party resenting or repelling a personal assault is fully justifiable in slaying his enemy, and our sympathies should rather be with him for the hard necessity forced upon him, than with the criminal corpse which provoked and rendered it necessary.

So with nations. When the conduct of another nation willfully perils its peace, its interests, and its rights, in the absence of redress it can go to war, and the guilt of the war rests upon the nation causing the war to be a necessity to the safety of one of the parties.

If justice and the mutual rights of nations could be settled upon a steadfast basis, then the chimera of "balance of power" would disappear, the incalculable expenses of military establishments would be saved, and the labors of millions of men, now lost to all industrial pursuits, would add to the industry and comfort of mankind.

How are these two principles of justice and mutual rights to gain supreme sway over nations?

Who ever can tell that, will do more towards hastening the millennium than has yet been done since the days of Adam.

It is true that nations, as individuals, go to war upon slight causes and under misapprehension. Much may be done to preserve peace where no wrong is intended.

But wrongs intended and unatoned render peace a very precarious safety.

That a favorable change has come over the opinion of mankind during the last forty years is most true. A settled opinion, the fruit of experience, is fast becoming a governing motive; that peace is the state of prosperity; that peace provides for hungry and industrious labor, more happily for the laborers themselves and more prosperously for the State, than does bloody war with all its train of evils, is now so generally an accepted position, that few nations go to war to get